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go about the matter as if it were the secret business of a few great powers, and what will be the effect on other submarine-owning nations who have not been consulted?" In the light of the methods followed in Paris, this question is interesting. Of course, there is nothing going on in Washington to warrant the aspersion that it is a "secret business of a few great powers." Our own view is that the friends of the League of Nations achieve for themselves no benefit by the oracular statement, that "the world cannot be saved by three or four nations, no matter how powerful their armaments may be." The conference in Washington is concerning itself with concrete problems relating particularly to the nations here represented. It is not true that "the voluntary co-operation of all nations, acting in concert, is essential to any effective solution of international difficulties." As a matter of experience, probably 99 per cent of "international difficulties" are settled between not to exceed two parties to a dispute.

The simple fact is that great difficulties are being met and overcome in Washington. European friends of the League of Nations have been very gracious in their references to the Washington Conference. The Washington Conference casts no aspersions upon the League of Nations. The American friends of the League of Nations are for the most part, we believe, friendly to the efforts in Washington. That is the way it should be.

## AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY LOOKING UP

THERE ARE many evidences that American foreign policy is coming once more unto its own. Of course, there is our Washington Conference; but there are other evidences. The shipment of arms and munitions to countries in which there are domestic disturbances can be stopped by the President, under the provisions of a bill passed by the Congress and now in the hands of the President for approval. This action on the part of the Congress is said to be in harmony with the action of other governments, following negotiations by the American Department of State.

American statesmanship seems about to play an important part in the settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute, a dispute hanging fire between Chile and Peru since the Ancon Treaty of October 20, 1883, the treaty which brought to an end the war between these two countries. This effort on the part of the American Government to bring the two South American States together follows repeated failures on the part of the governments concerned to have the question settled. The self-explanatory text of the American note to the two governments reads:

"The Government of the United States, through the courtesy of the Ambassadors of Chile and Peru in Washington, has been kept informed of the progress of the recent negotiations, carried on directly by telegram between the governments of Chile and Peru, looking toward a settlement of the long-standing controversy with respect to the unfulfilled provisions of the Treaty of Ancon. It has noted with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction the lofty spirit of conciliation which has animated the two governments, and that as a result of the direct exchanges of views the idea of arbitration of the pending difficulties is acceptable in principle to both. It has also taken note of the suggestion that representatives of the two governments be named to meet in Washington with a view to finding the means of settling the difficulties which have divided the two countries.

"Desiring, in the interest of American peace and concord, to assist in a manner agreeable to both governments concerned in finding a way to ending this long-standing controversy, the President of the United States would be pleased to welcome in Washington the representatives which the governments of Chile and Peru may see fit to appoint, to the end that such representatives may settle, if happily it may be, the existing difficulties, or may arrange for the settlement of them by arbitration."

There are still other evidences of the vital push of the American spirit. The conference at Cannes was undoubtedly inspired by the conference in Washington. And now we are to have a conference in March at Genoa—a conference to include Russia and Germany, a conference leading to that association of European States so necessary for the maintenance of peace in the world. So important is the resolution adopted by the Supreme Council at Cannes, January 6, calling this conference of all European States, that it may well be read in its entirety. The resolution reads:

"The allied powers, met in conference, are unanimously of the opinion that a conference of an economic and financial nature should be called during the first weeks of March, at which all the European powers, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia included, should be invited to send representatives. They consider that such a conference constitutes an urgent and essential step toward the economic reconstruction of central and eastern Europe. They are of the firm opinion that the prime ministers of each nation ought, if possible, to take part themselves at this conference, so that the recommendations can be acted on as quickly as possible.

"The allied powers consider that the restoration of the international commerce of Europe, as well as the development of the resources of all countries, are necessary to increase the amount of productive labor and lessen the suffering endured by the European peoples.

"A common effort by the most powerful States is necessary to render to the European system its vitality, which is now paralyzed.

"This effort ought to be applied to the suppression of all obstacles in the way of commerce. It ought to be applied also to granting large credits to the most feeble

countries and to the co-operation of all for the restoration of normal production.

"The allied powers consider that the fundamental and indispensable conditions for the realization of an efficacious effort are capable of being defined in general terms as follows:

"(1) The nations cannot claim the right to dictate to each other the principles according to which they must organize within their frontiers, their régime of property, their economy, and their government. It is the right of each country to choose for itself the system which it prefers.

"(2) Nevertheless, it is not possible to place foreign capital in order to help a country, unless the foreigners who provide the capital have a certitude that their property and their rights will be respected and that the fruits of their enterprise will be assured.

"(3) This feeling of security cannot be re-established unless nations or their governments desiring to obtain foreign credits freely engage (a) To recognize all public debts and obligations which have been contracted, or will be contracted or guaranteed by States, municipalities, or other public organizations, and to recognize also obligations to restore or, in case of default, to indemnify all foreign interests for loss or damage which has been caused by the confiscation or sequestration of property; (b) to establish legal and juristic punishment and assure the impartial execution of all commercial or other contracts.

"(4) The nations ought to have available convenient means of exchange; in general, financial and monetary conditions ought to exist which offer sufficient guarantees.

"(5) All nations ought to engage to abstain from all propaganda which is subversive of the political system established in other countries.

"(6) All nations ought to take a common engagement to abstain from all aggression on their neighbors.

"If, with a view to assuring the necessary conditions for the development of the commerce of Russia, the Russian Government claims official recognition, the allied governments cannot accord this recognition unless the Russian Government accepts the preceding conditions."

Two lines of postscript are added, that the conference would be held in Italy and that the United States will be invited to participate.

Conferences are in the air. Farmer and labor organizations, scientific bodies, economists, educationists, religionists, statesmen, are in conferences here and around the globe. The world is turning from arrangements predicated upon force to agreements buttressed upon good will. The effort is to escape from such things as the Holy Alliance. Men everywhere are coming to realize that there can be no peace between the nations founded upon a victorious military organization.

Surely the United States is continuing once more its rôle as a world power in the realm of international policy. The ideas and ideals of the makers of America, the smoke of battles clearing away, are coming again unto their own.

## CONFERENCES OR LEAGUES

**H**ISTORY DEMONSTRATES no fact more clearly than that the hope of international achievement lies in the direction of conferences of delegates duly chosen and accredited by the nations concerned. The great international achievements have always come about by the means of such conferences. It is thus that treaties are made. Out of international conferences has sprung all that we have in the nature of co-operation between the republics of the Western Hemisphere. It is the way international business was accomplished at Philadelphia in 1787, at Vienna in 1815, at Berlin in 1878, at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, at Niagara Falls in 1914, at Paris in 1918. It is the hope of Washington in 1921-1922.

The method is simple and acceptable to all the powers. In the case of controversy, the interested nations appoint delegates, give to them their instructions, and send them to a common meeting place. These delegates, acting under their instructions, discuss the issues involved, come to a meeting of minds as far as possible, and report their conclusions to their respective governments. The governments consider the recommendations, and if they prove acceptable they are ratified. When ratified, the recommendations become laws for the nations ratifying. This is the course which history has shown through the many years to be acceptable and efficacious. No other method has been found to be either acceptable or efficacious.

The reason for the success of this method is simple. It is founded on the fact that neither men nor nations are willing to obey, at least for any length of time, the commands or directions of men. No one will obey a man for very long. There seems to be but one thing that men generally will agree to obey, and agree further to do everything in their power to get other men to obey; that is law. When, by direct action or through their representatives, men or nations set up rules of conduct, and agree to them, they obey them. If a man or a nation runs foul of the law, disobeys it, defies it, or abrogates it, the other parties to the law array themselves against him; the hand of every man is against him. Men insist that laws which they themselves have adopted shall be obeyed.

This is probably civilization's greatest achievement. The best criterion of the moral standards of a people is their system of laws. The uniting force of society—preserving personal security, the family, life, liberty, happiness, and the common weal—is law. Where law accomplishes these great benefits best, there society reaches its highest levels, and there the greatest number of human beings attain unto their choicest hopes. In many ways the conference now meeting in Washington is but another practical expression of this abiding